(1) Ms.B.9.1 (24) 21

Has Congress power? – Not how got it

1. Historical fact – This never denied till recently – Testimony

(1) May 9th – 36, Speech of Mr. Southerland – "such a right never been until recently

(2) American Quarterly Review, an enemy

(3) Jan. 1802 Grand Jury of D. C. presented the slave-trade as a nuisance demanding legislat. redress – 15 N. H. Rights

(4) Judge Morsell in 1816 recommended the Grand Jury

(5) John Randolph in 1816 moved –

(6) 27th March in 1827

(7) See Alex. Gazette for 1826 – an arg. for recession of Dist. back & the grand arg.t is the power of Congress to abolish

(8) Jan. 1829 House of Represent.s passed resol. for com. to inquire into the "Expediency"

(9) In 1828, the Legislature of Penn. instructed their senators

(2)

(10) House of Assembly in N.Y. the same, Jan. 28. 1829.

(11) Extract from Claybourne of Miss. to his const.s in May last, states this fact that on the 12th Dec. 1827 – Mc. Duffie objected to the printing but admitting

(~~12~~) Jan. 6. 1829 – Mr. Miner's resolution vote 144 to 66. Mr. Alexander report then subs. the. sla:

(12) Philip Dodrige of Virginia – report

∴ [illegible]t denial of the rights, a new discovery – first start^d by the nullifiers (13) after by south generally but many Exceptions.

(1) Extract fr. Claiborne's letter

(2) Resolution of Legis. of N. Car.^a – admitting the power, (last winter) but declaring its exer. a breach of faith.

(3) Resol.' of Virg. denying power, Ayes 105, Noe

(4) Clay (5) Pinckney.

The north admit the power universally

(1) Van Buren's Letter.

(2) Webster in 1819.

II The source of this power

(1) Const. Art. 1. Sec. 8.

Obj. Is there no limit to the law making power in this case.

(a) Yes, the same limitation as in other cases, — e.g. no ex post facto law — no war on any fundamental principle of morality — The gist of t question however is ~~has~~ is the law-making power competent to do away slavery anywhere — This is proved

(a) th. law making powers ~~always~~ has done it (see Stroud's chap. 4. p 129–145) every-where — These show that it has been as a whole,

(b) It has done the same by piecemeal. Laws passed making slave a plaintiff — marriage contracts — Stroud p 23. note

(c) III Congress has created it there — but waving this — the law making power always has created it —

Obj. But slav. is not t creature of statute law

(2) Common law is an abolition act — Com. law is not com. usage, but is the embodied usages of civ. nat. wh. h. received judicial sanction as in accordance w. t fund. princ. of morality. See Decis. of Chief Justice Shaw ~~Holt~~ Chief Justice Holt, in 1720.

1 vol. Kent p 24. Montesque — {Justinian Stroud}

Obj. Grant th States – a the law making power ~~in them~~ can abolish it in them but th. Cong. cannot do it in Dist.

= Cong. can do all th. Virg. con, & even more – to prove it make an inventory of all the things th a law.

Obj. The terms of the session – the exceptions make it more palpable that there was no exception in the case of slavery.

Obj. If Maryld & Virga hd supposed th t const. gave Cong. this power they wd never have ceded, or come into the union — supposed nothing –

Obj. Do the South –
The North never wd if they had not suppos'd ~~unless they~~ that it gave the power – one supposed against the other – The whole arg. is th t notions of Southerners – ~~the~~ fact th t North expected slavery to be abolished soon is evident.

(1) Dane – see A. S. Magazine Vol 2. No 1. May's Article.
(2) Stuart's Sharp p. 21 ~~[illegible]~~ letter of Rush. in 1773.
(3) Jefferson's Notes on Virg. (1782) p 241. 242
(4) The manumission act of Virginia in the same year.
(5) This same act was int. in the legisl. in 1769 & lost by a large majority

(6) Judge Tucker's 10 000 slaves (in Holmes' Annals) bet. 1782 & 92.

(7) 1778 Virg. abolished the slave trade

(8) 1784 Ct. & Rhode Island abolished slavery, & the first act in N. Hamp.

(9) Two years before the form.n of Const.n 1785 the N. Y. Manumission Society formed & first year of y society

(10) Franklin & Jay's Letters – 1787 in Stuart's Sketch p 33.

(11) 1787 – same year of const.n formed – Penn. Ab. Soc. formed – same year Society in Baltimore formed – see App. Phelps' Lectures & memorialized their legislatures

(12) Mr. Pinckney's Speech in Legis. of Maryland 1789

(13) Patric Henry's letter to Robert Pleasants, of Virginia – See Unionist, or Lib. Vol. II.

(14) 1789 Ct. Soc.y – Rice Speech in Ky. in 1790 ~~Same year~~ Edwards's Sermon in 1791 – N. J. Ab. Soc. 1793 formed –

(15) Washington's letter to Sir John Sinclair about 1786 – See Evils & Cures of Slavery.

(16) Sentiments of Political men at that time, See Loring's Argument in ~~case~~ of Med.

17 Rule of Construction in the case – the fact of Dis. proves

Obj. Congress can't annihilate private property – ~~Con~~ Art. 7 (1) Private property of a multitude of men is taken – (2) This plainly means taking priv. prop.y.

& holding it for the purposes of govt.

(3) This obj. deprives govt. of the power to settle a questn. of right bet. two individuals = see Preamble of Constitution "establish justice" = ~~The [illegible]~~

(4) Nullifies the whole object of govt. — Wht. is the objt.? — estab. just —

(5) Law making power doing this in a variety of ways — principles of heirship &c — Repeal of the old law of entailments — the l. m. power in this case dont take prop. It simply decides who the property belongs to.

(6) The fact th. Cong. licenses the slave traffic

(7) The clause providg compen= &c is an admission of the power &c

(8) The war power, invests Cong. with power, see Q. Adams Speeches & Jeff.s Remarks th. slaves are enemies by virt. of their condition, see Jeff.s Notes p 241

(9) Congress by providing for genl. welf — are can do it

(10) The D. Col. an anomaly in this govt. — the people not t source of power — taxed witht. representation &c

(11) Glascock's speech last winter admitted th. if the People of the Dist. wd petition then Cong. could — the petition supposes the power.

Watson — ~~Art~~ 1. Sect 8. adopted in Convention unanimously — sent it to the states for approval — amend.ts proposed — Virg & Georgia proposed th t jurisd. over the district sh.d not be exclusive but merely extend to the police or good gov.t of t Dist. — These amend.ts ~~sent to~~ were negatived by the Congress & sent ~~to them~~ back to the people, & they in Convention ratified it. See Journal of Proceedings in Convention th formed the Const.n

See Also the amend.t of R. Island ~~was~~ in regard to the slave trade

Robinson — s.d th in the debates in Virg.a Patrick Henry & others objected to the ratifica.n of the Const.n, bec. Cong. w.d under it have power to abolish slavery in the Dist. & they feared also elsewhere.

Stanton — Historical Testimony — The Vermont Legislature instructed their Senators some time since to seek

Territories Rand.

Has Congress power in t Territory

(1) The 10 miles square is a territory though of a peculiar char.

(2) Sec 3. Art 4. touches other Territories under this art. Congress has exercised powers of diff.t kinds — (a) Territory north of the Ohio was ceded, with an express provision th there sh.d be no slavery, ~~[illegible]~~ & this the basis of all the others — The act provides th there sh.d b. a legislature by the people, the Gov.r app.d by t President

The Act of Cong. for a Territory is all the Constn. they have ∴ if Congress can make they can unmake.

Territories, under the govt. of the U. States at some time, in wh. slavery has existed & been protectd & sustained by Congress are
(a) the present state of Miss. see Strond p. 176.
(b) Louisiana.
(c) Missouri.
(d) Arkansaw.

There were originally 13 states, some slaves in all – ~~of these 6 are free & 7 slave~~
of these 7 now free & 6 slave – There are 13 new states 6 free & 7 slave –

Heads

1. The action of Congress over Territories in establishg terr. govt.

2. Some principles in reference to the action

(1) Cong. was under no Const. restn. to sustain slavery in any of them except
regard to the terr. which is
in ^ Tenn. which was made by the terms of cession,

(2) They h. the power of all law making powers to abolish = Lousiana, Cong. came into the place of Fr. govt. – so Florida – no restrictions

(3) As they h. not used this power to abol-ish the guilt of its existe. there is on the nation & govt. – particularly the North as the North always a majority

II The action of Congress in the erection
Art. 4. Sec 3. p 24
of new States out of this territories – Under this Seven new States –

Kentucky & Maine, were never under the govt. of the Union, or in a transition state – so Alabama & possibly Miss.

The other 4 Louis. Miss. Ark. Florida have been

(1) Congress under no Constn. oblign. to admit any one of t seven Slaveholding States, as such to the Union –

Proof (a) Cong. may admit states, but not shall – they are to be the judges of the facts – (b) General scope of Constn. – There was an exception in favor of t old 13 states but

(2) Free of all restriction as to three of the seven. Lous. Missouri, Arks.;

(3) Cong. h. admitted the three states against all right – partic Dec. of Ind. – & the Const. oblign. to secure to each state a repub. form of govt.

(4) This notwithstanding a majority of Reps. in Congs. fr. t free states.

(5) No general voice in the free states against it – & ∴ t govt. & t nat. guilty.

Weld, a fact fr. Charles Marriot – in the ~~Confid~~ Correspondence of R. R. Livingston with the First Consul – states that "the immense forests of th country could never be cut down but by free-men & th this amounted to a virtual pledge th [illegible] slavery shd not exist there

Interr. Sl. trade.

Power to abolish

1. Given to Cong. Art. 1. Sect 8. 3d clause page – That this is the true construction evid – (1) bec. it has been so construed by Cong. in reg.d to the F. Sl. – It was as a matter of Commerce th. Cong. & the British Parliaments abolished it.

(2) Prohibitory tariff is admitted i.e. so as to prevent = e.g. the traffic with the Indians in Spirits.

(3) In Art I. 9th sect. 1st clause p 13. they undertake to restrict the general grant, & ~~they do this only in respect~~ this admits th regulation may be prohibition

(4) Art. 1. Sec. 9. the word "migration" shows th this sect. did not have reference to the foreign alone but must to the domest-ic, else the word useless

Obj. The ~~States~~ slaves states have exercised this right of prohib. migration – But this is usurpation – might as well prohibit white heads or blue eyes

E. Wright – Story's Com.s on Const. vol 3. p 205. & the decision Gibbons vs. Ogden See also p 202

See Also Dane's Abridg.t vol 9. p 580

See Also the Petition of the Citizens of Boston & vicinity in regard to Missouri, drawn by Webster.

Rand. - ~~XX~~ To suppose the migration is synonymous with importation (1) Confuses the sense - (2) It is migration, not em, or im
(3) If a state had come in

(4) the speech of Hon. John Sargeant on the Missouri Question - see Vol. of Speeches on the Quest. at Gen. Fessenden.

E. Wright - Story Comy. Vol 2. p 512. 518. p. 519.

Free Discussion

Are discussions on the subj. of Slavery & the organization of A. S. Soc.s &c. &c. unconstitutional.

1. Form of presenting their objections
(1) Slavery [illegible] recognized by the Constn
(2) "We of the North h not the right to apply the remedy, & ∴ no right to discussion.
(3) Free states bound by inter. law, to rest.

1. Slavery recognized by the Const &c
(1) The word interfere - indefinite - ad captandum = e.g. march South & kill slaveholders - so think &c. ∴
(2) Our right to interfere depends on the way.
(3) Const. recognizes the right of freedom at the North = free labor

(4) The South talk & write & form societies against liberty here — Lynch clubs soc^{d} for recov^{y} of fug^{s}.

(5) They array opinions against freedom

(6) They deny the men h. inalienable rights all we ask is to say they —

~~7~~ But how is slavery recognized —

(1) recognized as in definite word

(2) as an existing facts

(3) Constitution specifies certain things we sh & cert. things sh. not do — put down violence = refuse to restore runa^{s} & ∴ other not specif.

(7) Const. guarantees free discussion Art 3. Amend^{t} — put in at the suggestion of the South? — What does this provision mean

(1) Wh^{t} don't mean — (a) not constitutional (b) right (c) popular, but (d) such as I please — for wh^{t} this amend^{t} put in for? — all — but specially the unpopular and the minority (∴ the const. our shield not our opponents) Constitution itself not shielded against attack —

Const. acknowledges its own fallibility bec. it provides for amend^{t} Art. 5. — ~~not~~ uncons. to amend, or to advise not unconst. for master to enman, is ~~the~~ it to advise him to do it.

2. Guarantees slavery — ∴ we may & ought to interfere & seek amend^{t} of the const^{n}.

2. Mr. Clay's position – Mark diff^e bet. leg. & mor. right to discuss –
= Idolatry in India
= Anti-Lottery Society in Penn.
= Mr Clay's decla^n that the Independence of the S. A. States sh^d be recognized
= I. as individ can't repeal a bad law.

3. International law.
(1) We are not guilty ~~of the~~ practs. to the interf^e
(2) The South the last people to ~~[illegible]~~ ask act. on the principle
= Southern demands
= Slaveholders meeting in Aug. 1835.
=
(3) They h recommend that we pass laws to enslave our laborers
(4) Laws in regard to free people of color
(5) Estab. lynch law there & here too.
(6) North – where you rebuke of this
(7) The South make this claim either as independ^t or as U. States.
(a) As independ^t – (a) No law of nat^s recog forbids our speaking the (b) Look at our practice = our July 4 ~~[illegible]~~ Russia – Turkey – Texas – Cincin^ti Resol^s – Breck^e Letter – missionary meetings, societies, –

— Great Britain discussing slavery here Sh we go to war for this viol. of inter. law — — Bermuda Case — Emancipation in W.I., Hayti, Mexico — Are we worse off than foreigners

But they claim this Under the Compact — as U. States

— (1) If forbid, must be by express provision, else we have it now, for all other rights reserved — (Art.) — We had it before.

(2) So far from being so, expressly regarded it.

(3) Suppose an effort to get up bad law in N. Y., this state will protect us in speaking against it — Does the union prevent protection in doing same thing

E. Wright

Livingston Code ~~Art~~ (Louis^{a}.) Art. 239 — Art 243 —

See Kent on Inter. Law.

Ms.B.9.1 (24)

Definition of Slavery

It is t annihilation of the distinction between a man & a thing. —

See the care with which God has guarded this distinction

Creation — Mosaic Disposition

Psalmist — "a little lower than the angels crowns him with glory & honor & set him over the things of his hand.

1 — Definitions —

"Slavery is not a malum in se, but a malum per consequentia" — Am. Quar. ~~Spect.~~ Observer. — a derivative not an intrinsic wrong.

"Slavery is an artificial relation or civil const. by virt. of wh. one man &c — "Bacon — Christ. Spect.

(a) an excellent definition of apprenticeship = Gen. Hampton's slaves & his neighb. apprentices

The forced labor of an innocent person for the benefit of another Stuart —

~~Is this wrong? yes~~ This may be right or wrong, but t question is is this slavy. — The strength of defn is on "forced,"

(2)

(1) This makes the slavery contingent on the *willing*ˣ of the slave – the *notion* &c –

(2) May on this ground inflict all the evils of slavery

(3) The absurdities in wh. it involves us – (a) I am slave, first unwilling – this slavery – now willing this emancipation – – makes t slave an annihilator & a creator.

(4) Puts on the same ground with our opposers of the Tracy & Young school except that this puts t sin on the ent" of t slave instead of master –

It says th it is not sin in itself but depends on circumstances – t slave's feeling

(5) "Labor" – according to this he must be the *user* of the slave as well as the holder

(6) "Guiltless" – implies th he may hold him if guilty.

(7) If th unwillingness &c – then this unwillingness is the measure of his guilt.

(8) An infant never a slave.

(3)

The master a right to retain his legal authority over a slave for any given time, provided he uses it for the benefit of the slave. — (Young's Def.ⁿ)

(1) This overlooks his right of posses-
This Young admits
-sion, ^ Right of retention dependent on the p-

=$5 from Green

The principle of it is the beneficial exercise of authority for the subject of it makes the authority right.

Annihilates all human relations
— parent & child — husband & wife.
Papacy End sanct. & means

Sanctions the principle of slavery itself — this settled by the inquiry what is the authority = parent & child — debt. & cred. — Criminal — man runs away, by what authority does he seek to reclaim? it is & chattel authority.

This the worst class of slaveholders = moderate drinkers — See Nelson's Letter.
= See the condition in which this holds him unprotected, body, mind, char., chastity, death, heirship, providence,

Obj: Duty to the slave requires me to hold him.
(a) Kindness to 2.000.000 requires to let go — act w. ref. to a principle — this out ground of his own expediency.
(b) The quest. is is it right; if not stop, come what will; that to doubt is usurpⁿ of

God's throne —

(c) Narrow view of the subject = slave th. can be bought for $500, you must buy him, on the same principle —

Annihilating an evil in a particular way often increases the evil & makes it strike its root deeper.

Is a violation of the command "no fellowship" — "rebuke thy neighb" — "appearance of evil" —

Green — The proposition th man owns himself is so self evident, that we could not ~~properly~~ use the common pronouns I, myself. — Absurd to say I myself am the property of another.

There is oppression th is not slavery — this the genus — slavery a specific.

A definition is faulty (1) if in explaing it we have to add to instead of simply expanding it (2) aff it includes things foreign to the subject — ~~struck with th~~ Stuart's def. resolves slavery into the wittings of slave — such slaves worst — nearly master brings chains to the Center of being the more frightful the case.

(5)

The definition th. it is holding as property very plain, to the most illiterate = tho' poor woman, "I've bee. a person"!

Man in Brandon Vt. guilty of adultery — when frightful evid.e brot. out, & he asked wht. he had to say, uniformly arose & sd. one thing he could say was he had no ill intention.

The answer to Stuart's supposition ~~that~~ as he might retain relation to the Pres. Chh. w. a ~~[illegible]~~ clear conscience, so with slavery, is that the relation in one case is malum in se & not so in the other.

Gradualism or keeping men as slaves for their benefit is

(1) To do evil th. good may come.

(2) The absurdity of making sin consist in intention — if partly for his good &

(3) makes t antecedent depend on the consequent — done exist until brought out of the womb of conseq.

(4) Same as th there is no right in any case except as utility makes it.

~~Explanation~~

Slaves not prepared &c — (1) Expl.n of t term education – used commonly in a technical sense – Truth is God has so framed the world as necessarily to educate men = Tousaint L'Ouverture – educated among herds – so slaves are educated & are not as little children & this is not to be admitted.

2. "But if need education who shall be their educators? Tyrants? – they Educate freemen?

3. What the methods of Education – They are methods which treat men as they are not in order to qualify them to act as they are – There may be restr. on freedom, as child, but may freedom be annihilated?.

Bearing of the system of Gradualism – its advocates should provise
(1) for death & bankruptcy of master
(2) for securing the master himself from becoming a villain.

Obj. But acting on this system slavery has been abolished.

(1) No – its spirit – its venom still lives. = Weld's colored man wishing passage in Canal boat.

7

What use doth the slaveholders actually + of necessity make of their power?

Green. — With t slave laws in our hands not necessary to call witnesses to t stand — to classify & arrange facts — laws of a community a mirror of the act. cond~~ita~~tion

Objection — Laws in this case not so but a dead letter.

No. Laws sometimes are so — are & mere ~~laws~~ abstractions — Hence inquire the origin of them.

(1) are they the laws of reason — These are generally the abstract ones? — No ∴ if slave laws origin here they might be dead letter — but they ~~are not~~ they ~~fall~~ set out with & proceed upon one of the plainest dictates of human reason — originate in selfishness, not mere self-love — desire to make others subservient to us — In exercise of this ~~sl~~ slaves were first seized & t slave laws are only these united & combined & systematized.

Wh. is slavery & who its creators — not an abstraction — nor t work of past generations — but each slaveholder by his own acts creates & continues it & in the face of greater light —

- Truth is there is no entailment = Thoma
"I'll see, said he, whether this sin can be entailed on me" – So the present generation are voluntary slaveholders, & have thus of their own disposition entered into this relation which treats men not as they are but as they are not +

Still occasions come up when these dispositions will necessarily be brought out in the infliction of the cruelties of slavery.

(1) This is evident from the slave Codes. –

= Law forbidding cut out tongue, ears &c supposing on the face of it that some such occasion actually had occurred.

= The inherent tendency of the human nature of the slave to throw off the incumbent burden of slavery will of necessity be continually bringing these occasions up.

= See also the multiplied insults to which he is exposed.

= His appetites another medium thro. wh. his nature reached & wounded.

Objection These occasions only incidental not inherent in the system.

Let us then look at the master in ~~the~~ his relation to this system &,

Will he naturally inflict these cruelties?—

(1) He has shown wht. he wd do. He has done so in the very act of creating the relation – in this done th wh constitutes the vital element of the whole & if done the greater will he not t less? – Nay more, comes under t infe. of t system he ht created – t Demon he h. conjured up fr t pit enters into him & is his inspiring genius –

Gerrit Smith's story of Carroll of Carrollton – sat Stoop – call up one slave & bid him to this – another do that – Explaind it – habit – Thus he was slavery incarnate – embodied

The whole frame work of Society adapted to produce these results.

The prevailing sentiments of the community, for to these law owes all its efficacy to these. This sentiments is such as to wink at as well as encourage such results — See Jefferson

Besides a great many incidental causes to produce same results.

= See Fellenberg – "Industry is the

(10)

great moralizer" – ~~[illegible]~~ the Slaveholder born & brought up where industry is a mark of meanness –

Statement of Prof. Wallace of Alabam th & sons of planters who are educated have conducted so as to bring education into contempt with the middling classes

Along with idleness is united luxury – high living & nothing to do – doing nothing on principles to escape charge of meanˢ. & every one see the dreadful effect of high living united with this on human passion – the man & football of his passions – indulgence always strengthens passions.

But how dispose of the testimony on the subject, that of visitants to the south – testimony of those who deny th sl. does inflict these evils.

(1) Their testimony is negative merely = old Irishman, said he c^d bring forward test^y of 20 who didn't see it.

= Dr. Ely's remarks about the liberalizing infᵉ ~~the~~ inter. of southern & northern ministers at his house.

2) Test. of other individ^ls^ —

= Dr. Beman "Slaveholding makes a man a devil."

= Milton Sutcliff — Lawyer in Warren, Trumbull Co. O. — while teaching school in Miss. facts came to his knowledge wh. he never c^d h. laid hold of but for artifice — one man murdered one slave & not know it till got confidence of his older scholars — another 5, rule to kill one a year &c — these "kitchen secrets".

= Philemon Bliss — health sent him south — St. Augustine — saw nothing — went into interior & took a family school near Tallahassee — then regarded as one of them — then horrors of slavery broke on him ~~scenes~~ wonders th. mere trav. see anything — arrangement to cover them up — scourge swung at night — every impression th. he h^d before he went strengthened, except th. he found the slaves more intell^t than he had supposed.

Weld — five or six infidels converted to abolition & thus to religion.

Wright — Mary Gordon's mistress, McQueen — Mary sick — yes — free — thus practicing on this system of concealment.

3. Testimony of Slaveholders –
See Argument of Archer's – col. soc. contrib to diminish the disturbg influence of t free on slavery.

(1) These are interested witnesses.

(2) They should be asked wht. in their estimation the slaves are – a thing is well treated when treated according to wht it is – if a thing then treated as a thing is & must be good treatment with them – See the law making the slave work more than a convict in prison.

(3) It is admitted on all hands th t slave is liable to the greatest outrages – in wht light does the slave holder witness regard this liability? Th they tell these necessary arrangmts – ans Gerrit Smith – Have you ever remonstrated & testified against them & tried to form a pub. sentiment to abolish them – oh no, & goes at once to defending the whole system – admit that these occur sometimes. See Stroud note p 39. – "the frequency of the offense to be accounted for

(1) Ms.B.9.1(24)

A Miss Rice staid a night at the house of a gentleman who had been a gov. of t state — gov. retired early — wife apologized tired — cotton wet crew came up & assured him th it was not t fault of t slave — yet he killed slave.
A principle in ~~human~~ nature to wreak his veng-eance on ~~instrument~~ of ~~writing~~ out of his fury.
The Lawyer in Maine who was opposed to orthodox — offended bec. she went to meeting — angry — went to whipping horses all night —

Joel Rooty — of Saratoga & a colonizationist said the inn keeper went to the stable & fell to beating t colored slave — yankee stood by — slave wht done — he'd teach him — rope & took him to the wood & inflict to the annoyance of the whole.

[See (a) p 3.]

2. Direct Testimony of Slaveholders — Jefferson brot. forward ~~in 1769 brot. forward~~ in legis. of Virg.a ~~a~~ prop. for im.e Emancipat.n See North Am. Rev. Art. on the Old Parties, in 1834 or 5 — Everetts Address 4 July 1836 — Rantoul's also: —

These men must have been brot under very strong motives to testify thus –
= Wallace sd to Smith – "Why if I remaind: Ih greatly disoblige my neighbors –"
= Birny sd slave wd afraid to take off their hand lest sht not be able to put on –
= Bourne's wife "ten years older than she ought to be
= Sl. h. min. in Virga "coal heaver, wood – corder &c.

Now see the stress Paley lays on the suff. of y prim. christians as to the value of their testimony – = See Persecutions of Birney – Thome in this city – at the college at home, at commen-cement, classmates not notice

4. Testimony of the slaves – contented & happy &c

(1) They dread as death sale to the South, – this the expln of thr grief at the death of the master = Madison – they know not wht is to become of them – wht new arranget.

And here let me say their attachts strong-er than others – ye know the affection of men in cells for spiders, mice, – the man whose prison visited by a bird & when it died he died

(2) Slaves under very manifest restraints
= Birney's account about the interview with negro at school house in Kentucky
= Miss Grimke – freq. conver. with slaves but never found one who said they did not wish for freedom – even indulged servt never heard one say "love master or mistress (4)

(a) 3.

(1) Refuse to let + slaves speak for them^{s} in the matter.

= History of Jeremie's mission – the change by wh. slaves allowed ~~to testify~~ – horrors revealed – Jeremie mortified

∴ No slaveh^{r} test. sh^{d} be rec^{d}.

= cut leaves out of legis. journals

= Get Jeremie's Pamphlet & publish

(2) Unwilling to let disinterested pers. fr abroad testify.

(3) Their test. of slavery is in the main negative –

(4) Do indirectly testify –

(a) Legis. granting freedom for merito^{s} serv^{s}.

(b) Admit th these evils are necessary evils – th + system can't be kept up without them = e.g. Bible – marriage.

(c) The plea that they w^{d} revenge them^{s}.

better than their freedom.
= Pomroy's testimony in regard to the appar-

= Miss Grimke - once had a slave before she was of age - given her - took - treated well - taught to read - one day went into room & found her reading paper - eyes tears - "Why mistress, see slaves, horses, ploughs, why make nothing but brutes of us!"

(3) Look at t efforts to escape - if not generally disposed to run away why,
(a) such arrangements made to escape
(b) such hazards encountered by slaves to
- rather lie in cells for weeks rather than go back & then come to trial.

(4) Efforts to get their friends free - efforts amounting to agony.

(5) And all this in the face of that feeling instilled into them wh. leads them to say "bad off as a free nigger"

(6) The slave code makes slavery a punishment for crimes of free People of Color. - might therefore just as well say men in Bridewell better off than those of same

Bourne Daniel Regan, sheriff of Rockingham Co. Virg - [illegible] a determ^d atheist - ~~tied up~~ kind - tied up negro & whipped to death - swore he'd never touch another -

The elder of a Pres. Chh. was used to whip his slaves every sabbath morning &c — Why do it? O s^d he it's necessary — to make them know their place —

The great thing is no testy against a white man — Peyton's remarks —

Preacher, whose son got slave down & knife out — "that's right."

Infidels — Do y. think the man then be-lieves his religion? — Nothing more common.

Billy Craven's — "I thought brother, the devil was behind you patting y on back saying go on at that"!

Slaveholder proverbially kind bec. he gave them piece bacon & herring on sabb. morng.

Sister of Patrick Henry

Plummer — woman stealer — came to the middle of Penn. & carried back to slavery

Rives the methodist preacher of Virginia.

This matter begins with infancy — young boy just able to say father — a dollar in his hand. to mama & child — she was then his —

Billy Craven — meth. preacher — bully — converted — eman^d all slaves — some 20 — all staid with them — the man th came fr. Georgia — price of slaves in his pocket.

His illustration of the monkeys that set out to rob ~~on~~ a man's orchards.

Story of Rev. Davidson of Fredericktown & the black man Jacob — introduced to Bourne — conversed with — Jac. read the token —

Miſs Grimke – confirms the reasoning of Greene by her exper. & observation.

Weld – object is to

The lodgement of arbit. power in human hands, where it is desired, always will & must be abused just in ∷ to the strength of that desire.

1. The inference from the laws of slavery

(a) How much kind° can we expect. fr. a people who make such laws? – It is an axiom th cruelties of practice will always go beyond cruelty of law, except.

Montesque – "No people was ever better than their laws, many worse.

The laws of a represent. gov.t like ours are the embodied wishes – the combind action – cosolidated heart of the people – as of one mind & one heart.

This the more true as the legis. are continually changed so th if one does ~~truly~~ not represent the wishes of p. & next correct it.

Suppose ~~take~~ & laws as one sum total & divide fractions to respective persons – each fraction & part. ind' heart – so th each fract. is his heart.

The very act of dep.g men of civ. rights is a premium for outrage on them – this to the comm. generally = giving a man protect°. is giving a pledge of the whole comm – "Shake me you shake & commonwealth.

Slaveh.s admit th laws unmerciful but pract. merciful – must deny all com. prin.l of human mind — this privilege of inflictn is nominal or not — if nominal why not give it up & stop slander. ~~but~~ They refuse to make these practices illegal, no matter how horrible = man in W. I. th put man into t oven.

By parity of reasoning — the laws do rob t slave of his personality — the best part of his happn — will it spare his mere ease, the dregs of his happs. — if trample on t man wont they on t dust.

Obj. Got power true, but dont abuse it. — How prove it?

(a) Not by a mere detail of facts.

(b) Do y. s.hold. desire it? — see how he clings to it — desires not merely power but arbitrary power, no tether line.

The fact th he desires t power a proof th it will be abused & th in ∴ to strength of the desire — t fact of desire, proof of abuse, strength of desire t measure of abuse.

= lady to be married — makes no reservation & she finds just here th he is thinkg of t laws of this state in regard to divorce or bigamy — loves her, but simply *desires* to possess the power to divorce her if ~~he~~ he pleases.

Another principle — men & their interests rise & fall together in human estimation — if despised, interests disregarded —

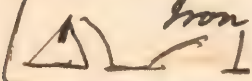
= Jews & Samaritans — Samaritan

woman amazed th C. Shd ask her to relieve her wants.

= men's regard for P.'s interests = love to him —

The very fact th he holds a man as property shows an utter deadness to his interests — See Strond p 41. ~~note~~ "if any person or persons shall break any chain" &c ~~fine~~ of $200 or 1000" — no safeguard to the masters property not t slave. — & yet the fine for mutilating slave only 200 or 500 & not imprisont!

Iron Horns — Strait Leg — Bells —



See also p 59 & 60 another index of heart ~~mind~~ unless so great as to deteriorate the property of t master" — so in Maryland —

See also p 97. "Sh presume to strike any white person &c". for second offence death for ~~assault~~ exer. of t right of self-defence — assault on fem. slav. death for resist, but if on mistress kitten she, t slave, may beat him out of the house —

These t feelings &c. will work out into action — wht is it men embody in action. masters expect their guests to beat th slaves & often chide them

see Steel & Dickson p. 451. James Hutton fined for killing a negro — two others hung for stealing.

Strond p 66 — negro testimony not take

a 6d property of white but life of slave.

Advertisement – Prospectus of S. C. Med. school.

Object. But the slaveholder so hospitable & kind –

(a) Admit.

A man may be very kind in some respects but cruel in others

Potter's Greek Antiquities Vol 1 p58.

Dickey's Rev. of Nev. Antiq. note p33.34

& in Eman.r Dec. 1834.

Life of Gen. Eaton p 151 – who went to Tunis – "many of the Tunisians died of grief" &c

Baltimore Journal & Mary.d Advertiser – 1788 – "let us reverse the case & suppose it ours – all is silent horror." Channing p 162 – visit to the hospital

Huntington Lyman of Lane Sem.y – resid at N. Orleans winter before came to seminary – coming up river & passing such an one's plant.n slav.s on board – one said last year he lost $10.000 worth of stock – experiments in feeding – "6 poor fellows." – Geo. Vents friend & [illegible]. –

(10)

Dr. Nelson.

Case of the clergyman — did'nt hold slaves — Eman— but hired some — attended camp meeting with him — bosom of infidel & wept — returned full of heaven — talk of millen — wiped his eyes — once wept aloud — wife met at door & whispered — started — 20 mins after heard horrid shrieks — wht. that? — wife run — soon stopped — 4 years ago last August — Nelson! ~~came in~~ whipping woman! — came in — began to apologise — stated the lange never so provoked — set up till 2 o clock the night — confessed his sin in whipping the woman to me ~~the~~ God — determd to send them back — took right hold & milkd cows — wife & childn all took hold of cookery &c —

N. Y. Com. Ad. June 8. 1827. This & the following fact show the utter obtuseness of feeling toward t slaves — Mobile Adver. Dec. 1835. — this shows not only state of man's but of the pub. mind that would tolerate such an advertisement.

Standard of Union.

Liberator — some 3 years since — Letter of Genl. Fessenden to Garrison.

Miss Grimke's ~~member~~ fam. memb. of chh, who sent poor old woman slave to workhouse to be whipped, back cut up, she said she had made the infliction a subject of prayer.

Objn. The masters say they treat t slaves well — see Green's argt.

(1) Ask wht. do you mean by good treatment. = His debate with slaveholders on steam-boat on Miss — His treatt of Sam — "Wht wd you do if Sam treat you as you treat him? Damn him I'd take a pistol blow his brains out — forget he is my slave & a nigger"!!

= Conversation with Mr Martyn of — suppose yr daughter knocked under hammer, simply running her chance for master — "would nt rather she'd die? — "stop, stop, cant bear that" — confessed &c

(2) As to visitants — forestalled by kinds of masters — get great deal ex parte testimony about slaves, against them — those parts of slavery t visitant sees are such as t planter sees fit to show him — so tht he looks (1) thro. t master's specs, & (2) look at t objs & only those he shows.

And ~~them~~ yet almost all the facts we have are (a) on the testimony of visitants, who see only the inflic^n on house serv^ts. & not on

Allen of Ala. ~~a~~ ~~Judge~~ Smith formerly of N.C. now Alab^a. ~~[illegible]~~ On his plant^n heard shrieks laid down & whipp^d — then across log — dead — not die alone

Genl Arrangement on a plantat^n is overseer — wages condition on am^t produced — driver responsible for so much a day — 5/sixths perhaps 9 tenths of all the slaves are under drivers & overseers — for treatment at the hands of such see Wit Stroud p 55.

Weld's method of getting at the secrets of the system from old Ephraim Suffolk Nantamond Co. Virg. — sat up then at night — next went to Murfreesburg — kept letters of introd^n — inq^d for plant^s.

In regard to diff^y of getting inf^n see the system of espionage always prevalent where there is slavery.

See Wildman's testimony bef^e Brit. Parliament.

All our allegations in regard to cruelty are admitted by slaveholders in regard to other slaveholders — dont spare each other = Virg^a dont spare Alabama = West & East Virginia &c The man at Harpers Ferry — no first person or present times or hero to slavery.

See Stroud p 37 — preamble to law for killing slaves

Whitfield's Letter, 1739. — &c a cent

Maryland Journal &c May 30. 1788 — "the punish^t of relations"

Pres. Young 1835 Address of Synod of Kenty — "they suffer all th. can be inflict^d."

Minutes of Am. Convention in 1826 at Baltimore — "in the eastern parts of the state &c.

Edward's Sermon p 6 — "smack of the lash this the general treatment of the slaves" &c!

Child's Despotism of Freedom p 53, "inflict on his fellow men a bondage worse" &c.

Letter fr. Dr. Finley, brother of Finley Agt of C. Soc.

Every slaveholder's house a sort of armory - planter's house about 3 miles, gun & pistols in bedroom, "had'nt been to bed for 20 years witht examining the priming" - on miss. river overseers pistols in belt & buoy knives &c.

Professor in Southn college from Rochester.

Testimonies showing the blunting effect of the possession of arbitrary power in blunting the sensibilities of its possessor

"Harrison's Letter to Bolivar on the possession of arbitrary power, Bogota Sept 27. 1826.

A great many little things which taken separately or collectively prove a great deal - The very word "despotic" & "arbitrary" - History of despotic sovereigns -

Theodosius, last Emperor of Romo - famd for kindss, & even piety - & yet wht do? Heard tht one of his favorite officers killed in affray - no reason to suppose a rebellion - & yet gave orders repeatedly tht every man & woman & child shd be killed & in 3 hours, 10.000 slain.

The transformations of char. produced by the poss. of arbitrary power -

= Nero - hand trembled first death warrt: ~~Murdered~~ wife, killed mother, fired Rome.

Mrs John M. Nelson, Hillsboro Co. Ohio.

Letters of Mrs Renshaw, now residing in Georgia, of difft dates, commencing in or Jany April 1834

Rev. Mr. Moffit's case - speech here in N.Y.

Those who plead the hospitality of slholdrs overlook several import principles ~~even~~

(a) Cruelties cease to be so when they once become habit whether inflicted by oneself or witnessed in others. Godwin p. 116

Modern State of Spain by Burgoyne vol. 2. p 342

(b) The feeling produced by the sight of cruelty depends more on the novelty of its form than its degree.

= Pompey in Rome used to amuse the populace with shows, gladiators &c but for the first time introduced Elephants & when comtorting them, whole populace broke out in execrations & Pompey had to put on a disguise.

(c) There are frequently ~~counteracting~~ counteractive to what wd otherwise be the effect of a given cruelty in the fact that the mind is turned in another direction

Isaac Walton, the Eng. angler — called "gentle Isaac Walton", a chapter in his book by which they may lengthen out the life of the fish

That slavery is & must be a system of is evidt.

1. from fact that here are 2.000000 of hum. beings robd of all things — cd not be kept so but by the fear of horrible inflictions.

2 Admitted by slaves. the fear the only motive in the system

(1) Driver — fear — the whole phraseology

— 3. From the fact that the slaveholders inflict pain as a means, not simply to gratify passion, but simple a means to secure labor ~~+~~ whip. then & inf.t when passion breaks – crack of whip call up in moving

4. The relation of owner itself shows a state of entire deadness to the happ.s of the slave – leaves the slave no capital to trade on ~~& but~~ absorbs into himself all the being of the slave except the mere power to suffer – why leave this but to use it

5. Then the fact that the more the gain of the master, in products, is the loss of the slave – some birds build their nests by tearing others down – now absurd to suppose the the state of mind which tears down nest will bring worms & take good care of the birds.

The fact is they treat them worse than the brutes
Taylor's Elements of Civil Law p 422
This fact accounted for
(1) By the fact tt the greatest of cruelties are inf.d [illegible] by man on man
Law in N. Y. – Slaves bring to houses.
Madame La Laurie, New Orleans Bee.

(2) Slaves laws prove th slaves liable to worse abuses than brutes – "cut out tongue

(3) [illegible] The slave is an intell.t being – a will – & he will show it – & it is well known tt the greatest provocation is the opposition of the will. ~~Superior~~ Inferior by a superior less – equals greater – superior by an inferior, greatest measured by the position Human –

(4) Great deal of punishm^{t} as an example. This explains (a) the pains to get them back & (b) them

Obj.^{n} Its for the interest of t master to treat them well.

(1) It is not so, but to treat them ill e.g. (a) the old

(b) the hired slaves - a majority of slaves are hired - some of the largest slaveholders no land but slaves - Pollok of S.C. - In the new lands, common for y. m. to go & get a plant^{n} & hire t slaves -

Weld lecturing in Marietta - Dr Creale of Parkersburg Virg. - "two of my best slaves (women) killed them" - Last year ~~one~~ one of his best men killed" agreed to Eman - fright^{d} - sold - "+ chh - t chh"

(c) It is for t interest of t masters to push their slaves to get the products into t early market.

See Stroud. West. Mon. Review.

And so for changes in the market.

And so high prices make it for the master's interest

(d) The incorrigibles; & such slaves are common - sold south - back scored - none but devil buy.

(2) Admit it were for their interest are men gov^{d} by interest when passion is up?

Channing p 162

(3) Then the owners dont manage their slaves, but the overseers & drivers; & the overseers cond^{n} of service &c

(4) The same tone of Pitt in regard to the masters of slave ships - see Clarkson.

Ms.B.9.1 (24)

Safety of Emancipation —

Niles Register

Objection — Slaves in Antigua were evangelized

Reply — The proportion of professors in S. Car. greater than in Antigua at the time of Emancⁿ. — Besides a few years since the most extensive insurrection plotted & broke out, ~~in~~ 1832.

Gentlemen riding out with the Govr. — the Moravian chapels — "these are our fortresses" — & yet the Moravian missionaries on the islands continued slaveholders.

Miss^s. of the Am. B. C. F. M. have held slaves under the Board — bought them, held the legal relation, & allowed them to work out their time —

The letter from Ohio, making inquiry March 1836 & the reply was (from Armstrong) that orders, (not on principle but on expediency) th no more bot. on those terms — they had been bot. with the funds of A. B. & the title ran to the Board. The reply ~~[illegible]~~ went on however to show th it was right. These Slaves were thus held by miss among the Cherokees & Choctaws. & at Creek Path, New Echota, Dwight (?) Haweis (?) Newtown, Brainerd — The answer in the case was official — Statements of Catharine Fuller so th they received orders not to hire slaves, great blow up, Worcester snapped his fingers & talked of resigning.

(2)

So there were many converts, & of a better character in Jamaica, so the arg^t. of preparation was as good for Jam. as Antigua.

Hodson's Letter to Say — (pub. it)
Wages & the Whip — "
Also — Say's opinions — "

~~He~~

Calhoun — "He who earns the money — who digs it from the earth with the sweat of his brow, has a just title to it against the universe. No one has a right to touch it without his consent, except his government, & it only to the extent of its legitimate wants; to take more is robbery, & you propose by this bill to enforce robbery by murder" — on the Bill to provide for the collection of duties on imports — Senate, Friday 15. Feb. 1833.

"Cant take care of selves".

Lord Howick's Speech Eng. A. S. Rep.
May 1833 — ~~Extract~~ from Matheson.
Evid. Com. House Commons p 25 — Testimony of Taylor — Also Austin p 79. & even these 26 days ~~are~~ given at discretion of master & the grounds far off.
Bryan Ed^n. Vol 2. B 4. p 77 —

13. A. S. S. Report. April 1825 p. 20 — "In Jamaica &c

See Report of the Warden of the N. H. State Prison, expense of supporting prisoners = $15 abt.
Birney S P. $15 ad support slaves on average.

Andrew Harris – man I saw at Auburn – now at Troy – rejected at Union, Middlebury & Burlington.

Thomas Paul rejected at Brown University, Providence.

Facts in regard to Dr. Beman's chh.

Sandford's treatment of Cornish at Brooklyn – no dinner &c

Cornish conduct when tired of prejudice – Prejudice has its strong hold in chh.

– Influence of this is (1) To make us infidels – His own mind labored for weeks together – know 3 men who stay at home from all chhs on the acct.

Dr. Beman — Compensation.

(1) Not right on principle

(2) Emn. wd benefit the South

(a) In all slaveholding comn. the value of land very low. — much lower than any land of same char. in free comd. ~~[illegible]~~

(b) Slave labor most expensive — bec. the man is deprived of motive — to industry — & economy —

More work, better done, at less expense

Lord Howick's Speech in Parliament.

(1) Do double work —

(2) The extra wear & tear.

(3) The loss from the kind of tools — e.g. hoes — McDowell's remarks about the hoes — Rakes = crotch sticks

(4) Injuries on stock & tools in revenge for injs. from master — Slave boy near Murfreesburg, "chunk away"

(5) Carelessness.

(6) Extra thievery.

(7) Extra Supervision — overseers, & time of drivers.

(8) Interest on capital

Objn If Eman. slaves will flood North

(1) The kind of agriculture at the South of the most thriftless kind, & aboln. wd be the introdn of a difft. kind demanding more laborers

(2) Capital wd immed. seeking new investments. — none now — see Preston.

Objn. some wd be ~~paupers~~ made paupers i.e. those who have slaves & not land = Warren Bridge. = Railroad, ~~&~~ Canals

~~Tuesday Eve'g Nov. 22. Free People of Color.~~

~~Yates –~~

~~Tappan's Story of George Kent & the Colored woman – house – chh – stage.~~

~~Downing's interview with a Colonizationist – he instanced the tabernacle – come to my chh. shan't be so – his experience – was going up stairs met on threshhold told must sit below.~~

– past, & in "Genesis" it has two meanings, & passive those who have slaves ... = Railroad, & canal

Bible (7) Argument.

(c) Green. In settling any problem of moral science should begin (1) with t great fundamental principles of that science, & (2) seize upon these where most plainly & unequivocally revealed:

1. To the Savior — & here he gives us authority to rely on those truths wh. are in themd self-evident — "Why judge ye not even of yrselves wht is right" — Whatsoever ye would &c Here the appeal is ultimately to ourselves — the clear dictates of our own reason.

(2) He sanctions & enforces the teachings of the O. Test. on the subject — prophets &c in reference to oppression — "came not to repeal but fulfil the law & the prophets." Isaiah 58. Ps 50.

So too the regulations in regard to Heb. Servitude — This Servitude ~~either by~~ whatever it might be, had or had not divine authority — If did not act under div. auth. their example no auth. for us — If they did then they had plainly specific authority, & acted as God's executioners.

Further it is very certain th whatever t Heb. Sl. were not stolen men — Ex. 21:16. Deut 24:7 & Gal. 3:28

Gen. Remarks (1) Our translation made in t reign of James, immediately after Elizabeth's, in whose reign Hawkins commissioned to bring off as many Africans as he chose, if with their own consent — see Crother's remark "leprous" — so Gen 14:14 "trained ones" —

(2) We ought to be ought to be on our guard against transferring to words in the Bible the same sense in wh. used among us.

(3) Bought — Hosea 3:2. Gen 31:15. Ex. 21:7. And if the Heb. bought their servts there must have been a market — See also Lev. 25:44, 45, & compare the 39 v. with the 47th, & Deut 28:68, "& no man sh. buy you", the conjugation of the Heb. verb here is the Hith-pael, & in Gesenius it has two meanings, t passive

& this passage is his only authority - The natural meaning of this conjugation is what one does to himself - & this t only meaning appropriate to the passage - "you sh be reduced to such straits th ye shall offer yselves for sale & no man sh. buy you", & this the more obvious in t light of Lev. 25:47. & Rom. 6:7.

3. Our savior's personal ministry - confined himself to Palestine; Jews - not pretended th slaves there at that time - Zebedee hd servts but designated as "hired servants" - & in parable of Prodigal son "hired servts" used to desige lowest condition - term "hired" may designate other servants & they same as son ~~all~~ except heirship - see Luke 15:29 & John 8:35

(1) General principles he taught - "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" - & here the savior Expd t only ambigs term in t whole passage see parable of good Samaritan.

See Mark 10:42-45 for wht t savior lays down as t only ground of distinction in his kingdom - "but so it shall not be with you", the word here is doulos.

And farther he himself took this attitude, & th officially too - "not to be ministered to but to minister" - see John 13. wash disciple's feet = shoeblack. & did this in t way of example - "if I then have done so &c"

See also the test of Christn char. for judgment - Matt 25. - & here brethren & also in Epistles of John in t broad sense of brother man - mark t picture not enough to say stranger but the meanest & wretched of t whole.

And now shall we never apply these principles = e.g. multiplication table & salmon.

(2) Savior did expose & condemn oppression in the form in which he met it -
Char. of Pharisees &c not so bad as commonly supposed - relig. men, missionary spirit - but "devourers of widows' houses" - this did by betraying confidence who came to them to settle th estates - Slaveholder not only does this but devours wid. & all - nay make widows.

4. Ministry of the apostles.

(1) The import of ye commission "go ye &c every creature". This was irrespective of color & condition – ~~& the tendency of the gospel to~~

(2) Tendency of the gospel to break down all artificial distinctions – Gal 3:28. James 2. "This man receiveth sinners & eateth with them." So the direction in regard to making feasts &c doubtless require us to visit ye poor as Sab. school teachers &c i.e. as a patron of charity – condescendingly – but goes farther.

(3) The general words used as descriptive of the gospel & its effects – "Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty" I Cor 7:21–23. use it rather = by all means. if thou mayest = canst.

(4) Of whom were the first chh's composed see Neander's chh. history – "went up from the humblest to the highest walks of life" – from servants to masters" at Rome among the Jews first – they were slaves, colonized across the Tiber, & liberated & through them christy introduced to Rome – see Stuart Int.n to ~~Ro~~ Romans.
1 Cor 1:26 – Prophecy "shall save the tents of Judah first &c – 1st "elachistos" –

(5) The term servants is emphatically a generic term, & yet our adversaries insist upon it that it sh. be [illegible] master & slave.

(6) Particular passages
Colos. 3:22 – just & equal = equality & pa-recho = have
I Pet. 2:18. subj to ye masters w
I Tim 6:1 despise, explained by Matth 6:24 & ~~means~~ not to hold to = St. Domingo – Birney –
Spoken of as masters with reference to former condn

Augustine's Confession.

"Non oportet Christianum possidere servum quomodo equum aut argentum. Quis dicere audeat ut vestimentum eum debere contemni? Hominem namque homo tamquam seipsum diligere debet cui ab omnium Domino ut inimicos diligat imperatur"

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Weld — His exam. imperfect — t work of examination great one — all com^d wrong.

New Test. arg^t. — one method of exhib^g t subject very little effect on com. mind, the other none. The presentation of t positive teachings — gen^l principles — of gospel w^d reach the refined & cultivated mind — not t mass — they reached by seizing th^r arg^t & obj^ns & turning them against them —

Common forms of Objections.

1. Christ never s^d slavery is wrong — did not condemn & since he did not reprove ~~this~~ sin & th too when all around

(1) The inf. ~~is~~ he never said wrong ∴ it isn't wrong — never s^d right ∴ isn't right.

But you overlook his office to reprove sin not to commend wh^t was good

Ans. He in his preaching as often com^d th wh. good as cond^d the bad — Blessed, Bless^d

(2) In his parish there was no slavery — was sent to the lost sheep of t house of Israel see (Jerem. ~~Ezek~~) 34. John 8:33 not his business to preach to Greeks & Rom^s & no int^n th any slavery there

(3) If there was, the inf^e falls to the ground — see life of Christ & his practice in respect to sins — Herod his auditor once — So Pilate — they angels! & then t circ^d, "wh^t is truth?" — So the Sanhedrim — Adulteress "neither do I cond^n"

the – Woman of Samaria – Judas never rebuked, & "one of you a devil" is perfectly general.

Prof. Hodge in the Bib. Rep. p 9. "It is on all hands" – & p 11. "In protesting against the ground of ~~the~~ abolition – The argument is this if slavery + relation in itself be sinful Ch. ~~[illegible]~~ wd have reproved it, did not ∴ slavery in its worst form not sin.

Obj.n The apostles did not exclaim against slavery & admitted th slavery where they were

(1) We have very brief notice of wh th they said – & ∴ assumption, but admit

2) Not Bib. method – great principles to forestall sin

(3) But see where this leads us – see the Piracy of those days – Games – the Cestus, the panthrasia – Customary in those times for parents to expose their child.n Rom. Ant.s, Tertullian – So parents power of life & death, Law of 12 tables table 4 – Gladiatorial conflicts "wild beasts at Ephesus – Concubinage & polygamy & yet wrote on marriage

Obj. wht he said in regard of Bishops

Rep. – This exception proves th all others h. as many as pleased

Creditor had power to seize the debtor & even cut in pieces, see Justinian Table 3d – this law abolished in the 4th cent. of t Republic.

Obj. But did exclaim against idolatry & Polytheism & why not against slavery –

1, this overlooks the peculiar & special business of the apostles - viz to overthrow the existing system & ∴ went at t central point - in vain to attack t specifics while th sys-tem stands which makes them virtues - & even deified them.

Would h be labor lost to h specified any thing as wrong until they had got a touchstone & then when a standard planted to move on

Position of min^r now same with th of Jesus Christ - to march men up to a standard already admitted - Hence his app-eal to the law & t prophets.

(1 Went at the fund. principle of th^e system
Acts 17:23. dont stop to say this wrong & that but with all his strength pushes at the fund-principle of their system

(2) If any little fragment of truth seizes upon it and uses it for the overthrow of th^e system.

2. This t system on which God uniformly acts - Why bear with Jews so long & no rebuke, but Sinai, & when these principles fully ushered then ~~they~~ were in the condit^n of chh. now see Exod. 32.

Obj. But on y^r own principles the apostles ought to rebuke slavery in th^e Epistles

Not their business to write Epistles, & when-ever wrote. it was to meet some emergency - e. g. Rom^s. Three parties, one contend^g th. Salv was by nature – another by law & t other by grace – So Corinth. written to put down factions in t chh – Gal^s to unjudaise them: The three great objects of the epistles were

1. Corrections of evils th springing up
2. Guard against t tempt^n to apostacy

Hence the main point t apostles had to push was diff^t from th of C. & of min^s now.

Obj. You must admit th t apost^s did recognise the relation & give directions con-cerning it

(1) God giving Jews a king.

(2) The inj^n to serv^ts not given on the ground th t relation right

(3) But admitting it – see case of children, wives, slaves, & subjects under Nero & Nero – Father Paul coming round – The arg^t is th bec. it right for serv^ts to submit it is right to command

= "joyfully spoiling their goods"

= smite, turn cheek

(4) Apostles w^d h used precisely same language if not slave in ~~the~~ world.

Obj. Didn't condemn slavery specifically

(1) No terms for doing it so

(2) Does condemn slavery – Col 4:1 – just & equal – Ephes 6:9 – "do the same things unto them – I Tim 1:9, 10 – See Bishop Horsley Speech on slave-trade bef. House of Com. says the prop. technical meaning of t word is kidnapper see Edwards, & Donegan – & Exod. stealeth a man

1 Cor. 7:21 "care not for it" – How cruel
, admitting him a slave, to wrest away this
wh. comes as consolation & make it authory for
infn of it.

Observe there is (1) laid down a general rule "let
every man abide" – now (2) the exception
if thou mayest &c – bondage t exception

Onesimus 1. How do you know he was
a slave? – Oh "Doulos!

Rob. Bib. Rep. Jan 1835, p 155 – Slaves as
long as slaves called oiketai, but after freedom
granted called douloi &c –
Clarke's Com. Eph 6:5.
Potter's Greek Antiq. p 39. or Paxton p. 143

If he hath wronged – his absconding not
specified as wrong – & farther we have nothing
to do with his condn before but only after –

Reason for sending him back (1) Not bec. Ones
was his property (2) Not th Phil. wished him
to come back (3) or th Ones. was bound to
go back (4) or wrong in absconding (5) or to be
a slave or servant th he sent him back
– Why? A matter of favor to Onesimus, th
there might be no diff. bet. them. See v. 10 &
Ones. remembering this untrustworthiness, how
very natural th he shd wish Paul to write &
intercede for him, th he might forgive him &
receive him on t ground of this change – see
it thro. t epistles, saints
"Whom I have retained" = Paul wanted him for a
minister.

I Tim 6:1,2.
(1) Here manifestly two kinds of servants
(2) δε = but

(3) The reason for submission assigned to first class is entirely an extrinsic reason — the effect on others

(4) The second class the reason is intrinsic — the char. of masters — "faithful & beloved

(5) Paul never address the despotai as bretheren

Obj. this passage — used in reference to former character — e.g. Capt — Govr — &c.

The command to wives to submit & the child^n to obey, is to the slave's wife & child as well as the master — this an element the overthrows slavery

It is an historical fact the prim christ. did root slavery out of the Ro Empire see Augustine's confession 4th century, see Bib. Repos. for Oct. 35

~~See~~ Woods Dictionary, Art. Slavery, an extract from a Decree of the great council in Eng. & in Ireland 1171 the same. Life of Wooster, Bishop of England Vol 2: & in Wilberforce letter on the Slavetrade p 395.

In 1514 Henry 8th lib. two villeins in the following forms, Barringtons Observ p 251.

Coopers Justinian p 414

Vinneus & Commentary on Laws of England.

Rober. Char V. Vol 1. p 478

Coop. Justinian p 414

Argt of Lord Monboddo – therefore the Amers h no souls, hence the right to en-slave them

Letter Pope Leo X. 1580, th not only the Christ. relig. but nature cries out against

Pope Paul's briefs – see old Latin Work of Manochius.

Old Test.

~~Prelim~~inaries –

1. The curse of Canaan –

Gen. 9:25 – The argt. from this is built on three assumptions

(1) Th t cond. of those under t curse was slavery – The condn. of subjects, tribs, ~~[illegible]~~ may be t fulfilt. – Same word rend.d Testt. is applied to subjs, tribs, younger sons

(2) Th the prophecy is a sort of preceptive warrant ~~ie~~ = "thy seed shall be in bondc & they sh afflict them" – Pharaoh, – Death of Christ – goes on t prin. th fore-~~telling~~ crimes turns th to virtues

(3) Th Afs were descended from Canaan – Gen 10:15 ~~-20~~ Cush settled Ethiopia & Misraim Egypt & Africa peopled from these by gen. admission

Obj. Canaan t repres. of all the sons of Ham – or ~~all~~ his ~~posterity~~

~~(2)~~ ~~(1)~~ If so, proph. not fulfilled
(1)

(19)

~~(4)~~ (2) The proph. has been fulfilled in the case of Canaan – fact – it was not ind. but national servitude
(a) they were conquered [subjects as a nation] by Israelites &c
(b) Then subjugated Ham & Shem, Medes & Persians – then Ham & Japheth in the Macedonian Grecian & Rom – then Ottoman where now
Rem (c) This curse took no effect so long as they continued righteous, Melchis, & fell only when
O(d) See v.24 But "younger son" – Canaan was grandson
(1) No proof th. Ham was t yr. son of Noah
(2) The proof that he was not is – the order in wh. t names mentioned Shem Ham & Japheth – Old Test. Bible use various – Ans. – the enumeration is in t order of birth generally, this the rule – any other except in consequence of preeminence special endowment or Prov. of God – then varied – nothing of this in t case of Ham, & if there had been he wd. h. b. mentd. first.
(3) ~~(2)~~ younger son – may & often is rendered little son, grandson, or any descendant. Stowe's Lect. on Heb. Genealogy – & further th. t grandson is meant fr. fact th. Canaan is t ind. specified, & further Ham passed over in silence.
(4) Finally if this prophecy had Af. Sls in its eye, it has never been fulfilled, for only fractions –

Patriarchal System

Gen 12:5. – Said th. these souls slaves.
~~(1) [illegible] substance [illegible] souls~~
(1) This is assumption.
(2) Probability in v. itself th. not so – substance –

—take all substance & then some more?

Obj. But they were captives in war

(1) Only one instance in wh. Abr. fought

Obj. But his "trained" ones —(1) No serv^t in orig^l. (2) instructed ones + proper meaning. (3) That his business. Gen 18:19. Prov. 22:6 make a grenadier, same word as used here (4) Heb. pamphlet — hanoka — trained = ded-ication of the new synagogue.

(4) Souls gotten (1) his business to get souls — fr Haran — preacher of righteous — how natural that they should cleave to him as Ruth to ~~[illegible]~~ Naomi, thy people my people, thy God my God.

(2). "The souls that they have gotten never supposed to mean any thing but converts till after the comm^t of Afr. Sl. trade.

Testimony of the Targums.

Tar. of Onkelos, is "quas servire fecerant legi"—

Tar. of Jonathan — Proselytorum

Jerome, Vulgate — a —

Jarchi, Jew. Com^r. — those whom they had brot under the wings of Shechina.

Menochius — quas de idolotraria converterant

Paulus Fagius, quas instituerant in religione.

Luke Franck — quas lege subjicerant

Mophaelus Heb. Bible on the passage.

Tar. of Jerusalem. "those converted from idol.)

(3) From the nature of t case c^d not have been invol. serv^ts

(a) ~~(1)~~ Their numbers forbid any other supp^n: 318 train^d men &c

(b) ~~(2)~~ The sparseness of the pop^n of those countries

(c) ~~(3)~~ No gov^t. or law, or police bindg them to them

(d) ~~(4)~~ The state of society, opposing clans &c — came down on Lot.

(e) ~~(5)~~ The reason at the bottom of this choice is th^r own interests — Gen 18 — 9. says he "knows" — & of course Ab. carry this out — "to keep the way of t Lord" & what that. — "laborer worthy of hire" — "to do justice" = treat men as men.

4. Condition of Ab^s serv^ts in his family — rem remark th the condition not set up as subject of special information — all light we get ∴ incidental.

(1) Gen 15: 2. Heirship, & speaks of it as a matter of course, not any special or arbitrary arrange^t. in t case — not a syllable about Lot or sons of Nahor, but lo! — another Abraham.

But how follow th this a matter of course? — Why form of expression lo! — & the endearing intimacy bet. him & Eliezer through life — See Blackstone on heirship B. I.

(2) Deputed his serv^t. to select a wife Gen 24:13

(3) most manifest th this serv^t. had a sort of discretionary supervision & guardianship over Isaac, (tho he about 40) v. 68.

(4) (22)

~~(3)~~ Had also discretionary power in the managet. of the estate — go take wife, nothing said abt. camels not bec. Ab. told him to, but (for &c) v. 10.

(5) ~~(4)~~ Had discretionary power in the disposal of property to any amt. v. 22. bracelets 50 or 60 — v. 53. "jewels" shd be vessels

(6) ~~(5)~~ Treatment he recd in Bethuel's family & Bethuel a prince of the country — v. 18 my lord!

Objn. But didn't know he was Ab's slave. If not no marks in his personal appearance v. 27. 34. v 28. v 31 — "Come in" an eastern custom — v. 32 & he Laban — men's feet, at least one to a camel — treated as an equal with most marked attention

Obj. v. 3. all lumped together; Yes & there was one of these asses, called Lord! &c. — Same true of 10th Commandt.

~~— lumped together [illegible]~~

7) ~~(8)~~ See Gen 18. —

Wht. became of all these servants — 2 or 3000 & increasing rapidly &c.?

Isaac great store of servts — Jacob the prin went to Padan Aram alone & was hired for 21 a servt, — original & in Septuagint "I have doulus & thou hast changed wages 10 times" — when he started to go back great many servts, ~~by~~ the interview with Esau he calls the servts ~~[illegible]~~ wives & the childn pais — Gen 31 ~~[illegible]~~ after his return his sons out keeping sheep, nothing said about servts — & further fact ~~that~~ they took Joseph & held council over him shows no slaves about — then when went to Egypt no servts.

1. Totally in(2 3)consistent with Ab^{s} character.
Remark — Abraham remarkable for yield-
-ing, never ~~[illegible]~~ strife — Well — conflict bet.
herdsmen — ∴ absurd tht he sh^{d} rob by wholesale
& fear — No — Abimelech afraid of him
& took special pains to propitiate

Rem 2. In t ~~septuagint~~ to trans^{t} pais always used
& not doulos &c — sometimes uios — Pais the
proper word for child

"Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan" is
the Septuagint — See Edwards on Redemption
This is the Arabic version — & Newton adopts
it to make t measure.

Objection Eleizer the same position in
Ab^{s} family with prime minister in Eng
or Naaman the Syrian, or Joseph in Eg-
-ypt.

Abimelech's serv^{ts} giving does not prove
tho given as property — & the cond^{n} in Abim
family no proof wh^{t} the cond^{n} was in Abram's
family — Suppose Wade Hampton

Philadelphia May 21- Ms.B.9.1 (14)

I. Objects 1. The emancipation of the
Slave
2. The elevation & complete
enfranchisement of the free.

II Principles

1. Slaveholding - wicked - wickedness of the highest kind - in principle the same with the Slavetrade.

Explanation (1) not parental relation -
(2) not relation of Master & apprentice
= or hired servant.
(3) not th of guardian & ward
(4) not holding of men simply =
= Sheriff. And the reason in

all these cases is th t control or right claimed is not assumed, but is originated & sanction'd by competent authority. Slaveholding then is holding men as property - This a sin wh. no circ. can excuse or change to right.

[illegible] Hence we maintain

1. th t plea of entailment i.e. th t sin hs come to be sanct by law is no excuse =
= license system, Slavetrade

2. th t plea of t slave's happiness & contentedness

is not = false or t plea of ignorance for which t master is answerable.

3. that t plea of kind treatment is not = wht. is kind.? The plea absurdity = cutting off a man's head &c, or plucking out his heart & justify by putting a poltice on his finger. —

These & similar Circs. no excuse for the Sin & ∴ none for the non performce. of duty —

II. Doctrine of Reform — simple, Total abstinence — abandonment — let it alone, now, on the spot = Immediate Emancipation.

Eff. (1) individual — not adrift &c
(2). community — laws, = Mechanics &c

And as no circs. can change t wrong to right & thus excuse t sin, so no Circs. can do away duty —

1. Public Sentiment wont bear it = private interest wont — & t individls. th say so are t authors & supporters of t sentiment.

2. Laws forbid it. = Gutzlaff.

3. Slaves not prepared - very well then prepare them for it with ~~[illegible]~~ first step is emancipation - out of master under law = suppose this done in Virga.

4. Danger - a bugbear - see the feelings towards abolitionists - or if real increasing whether instructd or not - if instructd
- if not instructd - = John Holt Rice, "Superstition & crisped haired prophets"

III Measures. - Objt is emancipation but how? - 1. not by violence or by encouraging it, so far fr it we discourage it & are in fact t only class of men th can do it effectually.

2. not by Expatriation - the grand fundamental idea th lies at t bottom of all schemes of Expatriation viz th t colored man cannot be elevated here &c. ~~we reject in toto [illegible]~~
~~& ca th [illegible]~~
th t slaves cannot be emancipd & elevated here we reject in toto, as a libel on the slave - t master, & the gospel of J. Christ - if true the hope of the world is gone.

3. Not by unconstitutional political action. - lottery system - license - slave trade -

But 4. By the revolution of public sentiment - True all say Slavery is wrong - so Intemp - so Christy - but the belief is all abstract, not real, faith witht. works is dead: we need a reform -

This is to be effectd by light & love - tracts, pamphlets, agents $20.000 this year = total abstinence! total abstinence!! - until it becomes disgraceful = Brandy & Water:

This sentiment will work out a way for itself, "a will, a way" - It will lead (1) to a righting of individual practice - (2) a righting of t obli= = t immorality of intemp.e = Quakers! -
(3) a righting of t laws, in t States & in t Gen.l Govt

But 5. Why begin among non slaveholders = Territ.o - intemp.e -

Ms.B.9.1 (24)

1. ~~Justice of Eter. punishment.~~

2. ~~What true expediency is.~~

3. ~~The folly, guilt & danger of departing from it in any case.~~

4. ~~The folly & guilt of compromise, in cases that involve principle –~~
   ~~= Test act of Baxter's day.~~
   ~~= Birth right for a mess of pottage.~~

5. ~~The secret of the want of moral power & the consequent inefficiency of the Chh.~~
   ~~= Zuinglius – Cortes – "Bold as a lion".~~

6. An important test of character.
   = Y. man in the gospel –

7. An important hint in the formation & perfection of character.
   = Obsta principiis, National Idol
   = This to be carried out in its application to the whole man, in all t affairs of life
   e.g. 25 ct. piece; Theatre Bill; Love of dress ; Disregard of sabbath; social glass;
   ;

8. Slaveholder should manumit his slaves in the face of the law.

9. Duty of abstinence from the products of slave labor.

10. Public Sentiment not a Standard of duty.

11. ~~The true theory of revivals, or~~ How a minister should preach in order to save the greatest number of his hearers, & how ∴ his hearers should wish him to preach.

= Intemperate
= Licentious
= Dishonest.
= Pride of station, dress,
= Skeptic
= Profane
= Gluttonous
= Sabbath breaker
= Theatre-loving
= Novel-reading.

12. The ~~true~~ theory of revivals.

13. Why the Apostles did not attack slavery in the specific form & way in which we do now.

14. Solemnity of the ministerial office.
= messenger of God
= rebuke the sins of the age.
= Hold forth t gos. of God, & tell men they depart from its great principles at their peril.

Ms.B.9.1(24)

John Newton & the Slave-trade.

After his conversion he went one voyage to
Africa as mate, & three as captain of a vessel.
He says of the trade – "In general, I know of no
" method of getting money, not even that of rob-
"-bing for it upon t highway, which has so direct
" a tendency to efface the moral sense, to rob
" the heart of every humane & gentle disposition
", & to harden it, like steel, against all im-
"-pressions of sensibility." + +

"The ship in which I was mate left the
" coast with only two hundred & eighteen slaves
" on board; & though we were not much affected
" by epidemical disorders, I find, by my jour-
"-nal of that voyage, that we buried sixty two
" on our passage to S. Carolina, exclusive
" of those which died before we left t coast, of
" which I have no account."

And yet he says, in the same pamphlet,
"I first saw the coast of Guinea in the year 1745
" & took my last leave of it in 1754. It was not

" intentionally a farewell; but through t mercy
" of God it proved so. I fitted out for a fourth
" voyage, & was upon the point of sailing,
" when I was arrested by a sudden illness,
" & I resigned the ship to another captain.
" Thus I was unexpectedly freed from this dis-
"-agreeable service. Disagreeable I had long
" found it, but I think I should have quitted
" it sooner, had I considered it as I now do,
" to be unlawful & wrong. But I never had a
" scruple upon this head at the time; nor was
" such a thought once suggested to me by any
" friend. What I did, I did ignorantly; consider-
"-ing it as the line of life which divine provid-
"-ence had allotted me, & having no concern
" in point of conscience, but to treat t slaves,
" while under my care, with as much hu-
" manity as a regard to my own safety
" would admit." Thos. upon Af. Sl. trade.

"During the time I was engaged in the
" slave-trade I never had t least scruple
" as to its lawfulness. I was on the whole, sat-
"-isfied with it, as the appointment providence

"had marked out for me. + + However, I
"considered myself as a sort of jailer or turnkey
"; & I was sometimes shocked with an employt
"th was perpetually conversant with chains, bolts
"& shackles. In this view, I had often petitioned
" in my prayers, th ye Lord, in his own time, would
" be pleased to fix me in a more humane calling

Letts to the Rev. T. Haweis.

"I felt the disagreeableness [not sin] of the
"business very strongly. The office of gaoler & the
"restraints under which I was forced to keep
"my prisoners, were not suitable to my fee-
"-lings; but I considered it as the line of ~~hu-~~
" ~~man~~ life, which God in his providence, had
" allotted me; & as a cross, which I ought to bear
" with patience & thankfulness, till he should be
" pleased to deliver me from it. Till then I
" only thought myself bound to treat ye slaves un-
"-der my care with gentleness, & to consult their
" ease & convenience, as far as was consistent
" with the safety of the whole family of whites &
" blacks on board my ship".

Letters to a Wife.

And not only so but, he says, "I never knew
"sweeter or more frequent hours of divine Com-
"-munion than in my two last voyages to Guinea,
"when I was either almost excluded from Society on
"Shipboard, or when on shore amongst the natives."
Letts to Rev. T. Haweis.

Again, "You will perceive by the date, that this
"is one of t days wh. I pass as much as I can, in
"retirement & reflection". Letts to a Wife.

And, at the end of his last voyage, speaking of
God's wonderful goodness to him, he says, "I had
the pleasure of returning thanks in all the
churches, for an African voyage without any
disaster, or the loss of a single man. This
was much noticed, & spoken of in the town,
& I believe it is t first instance of the kind.

Ms.B.9.1(24) [8]

Are such doctrines so proclaimed a prostitution &c? – Authority aside, We maintain

1. Th. we have not aimed to produce insurrection.
= declarations.
= conduct open & above board

= 2. Have not in fact done it.

3. Our principles & measures no "manifest" or real tendency to do it, but the reverse.

= ~~Had nothing to do with the~~ slaves on the subject – Sent publ^s? No – ~~Address of Ex. Com.~~ – Absence of proof – Besides if sent could'nt read them – & if c^d nothing in them to excite &c – What is there? Acquainted with his rights? May & may not.

Hope – alleviation –
~~Crying child~~.
Revolution.
~~Charleston Plot~~.
Insurrection plotting – (wait &c)
Insurrection broken out – (St. Domingo)
Crying child.

Novelty of position – charity.

Points to be settled – (1) right (2) Time.

Importance of the question. – Certain resolu

= Certain resolutions & project of law.
= invasion of one right, all rights.
= invasion of rights of one, rights of all.
= This right, the right of rights & ∴ its invasion most dangerous; indeed all slaves at once & despotism triumphant;
= danger of bad precedents – this worst.
= precedent for other states.

Attitude in which we stand before Comee

= Not for ourselves
= Not for slaves, but
= " – " – abolitionists of R. Island, but
= " – " abolitionists of other states, but
= – " – " all citizens of these U. States,
= But, for great principles, involving rights of all, everywhere, even Comee itself.

~~Claims we urge in self defence,~~
~~= Not th we are perfect &c~~

What are we here for?

= Not to claim for selves or others complete exemption from human frailties & Errors.

= But to rebut certain charges & protest against the adoption, by the legislature of this state, of certain principles in relation to us, which we regard as unconstitutional & despotic.

= These to be found in certain resolutions &c – Read resolutions, & specify the charges &c.

I Charges. What are they? (1) "Attempts" (2) "Prostitution of freed. of disc." (3) "Practices" &c.

(4) "Machinations" &c
These all reduced to one, are,

The prostitution of free. of speech & the press to purposes of insurrection & defamation.

To whom does this charge apply?
= somebody; somewhere? Who? Where?
= Southern resolutions p 39.
= Newport resolutions. (a) (b) (c) (d)
= Report & discussion on it.

To ~~this~~ charge we plead not guilty — challenge investigation — have challeng^{d} it — see Protest.

This challenge met, any proof offered? When? Where? By whom?

Opportunities in abundance — Charleston — Public meetings — Dresser — Livingston Miss — Southern legislatures —
Obj^{n} — Williams. F. Statement p 6.
Dr. Crandall. p 3. 4. 5.

Substance of all is,
(1) Slavery a sin. (2) ruinous to the Country.
(3) Should be im. abandoned.
(4) Universal proclamation of ~~these~~ doc^{s}.

Is there aught in all ~~this~~ that am^{ts} to the "prostitution &c? And yet ~~are not~~ these, are the sum total of all we have ever said or done? head & front?

I Doctrines — What are they? Summed up in this, "that sl-holding is sin, & that the duty, safety & interest of all concerned require its immed. aband^{t}" — see Const. Am. Soc.
1. Sin of it — Phil. Decla — Ohio Decl^{n} — Proceed-ings of Rhode Island Con. p 20.
2. Ruinous — Whittier.

3. Immediate Emanⁿ — What mean?
- Extracts in Scrap book.
- R. I. Con. p 38.

II Measures. What are they?

1. Not by force — N. E. A. S. Soc.
- Phil. Declⁿ.
- Const. of Am. A. S. Socy
- R. I. Con. p 41.
- Gar. Res. 165.
- Charlston papers, Eman.

2. Not by unauthorized legislation.
- N. Eng. Soc.
- Phil. Dec. & Const. of Am. Soc.
- Address of Ex. Com. in Sept.

3. But by the foolishness of preaching.
- Phil. Dec.
- Constⁿ of Am. Soc. Art 2.
- R. I. Con. p 47. 48.

But the Prints!...

Now we maintain 1. That these sentiments & measures, so far from being a prostitution &c, are but the sentiments &c of the best days & the best men of this republic — See Coxe in Crandall's Trial p 518.
- Jefferson. 1782.
- Pinckney. 1789.
- Patrick Henry.
- Rice of Kentucky. 1790 or 91
- Rush p 22.
- Amynto, 1796.
- Hopkins — 1776.

[Burleigh]